

tion does *not* involve the ritualization and collectivity of experience that mark military induction as a true initiation ceremony.

4. ADOLESCENCE AND ADDICTION

The lack of any significant universal rites of initiation into manhood in our society is a point of reference of the following analysis of some of the pathologies of adolescence for males in this society. Victor Gioscia, in the following paper, presents an analysis of the significance of narcotic drugs for male American adolescents, in terms of basic socialization difficulties of this society and in terms of a phenomenon to which Gioscia is (to our knowledge) the first to give systematic attention, and a name, in sociological literature, the phenomenon of *achrony*.

Adolescence, Addiction, and Achrony

VICTOR J. GIOSCIA

Narcotics addiction raises a number of questions about the problem of growing up in America today. Narcotics addiction or use appears to be spreading among adolescents at all class levels in the United States. Use of drugs—not all of them narcotic—to produce altered states of consciousness and feeling is an important element of a significant deviant subculture: that of the Beat. In Beat culture, drug-taking is part of an apparently paradoxical amalgam of Western jazz and oriental mysticism. In an earlier study⁵⁴ we attempted to show the relationship of drugs, Zen, and jazz in the Beat configuration. The connections provide points of departure for understanding the relationship of drug-taking and adolescence in our society generally, and the relationship of both of these to processes in the experience of time. These are the tasks of the present paper.

As William James had known many decades ago, the ingestion of certain chemical substances induces states of consciousness which are, to the participant, indistinguishable from classical mysticism. The experience James called an "Anaesthetic Revelation."⁵⁵ In our own study we

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⁵⁴ *The Beats* (unpublished).

⁵⁵ William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Mod-

also found that the contents of a paragraph or a poem written by one of the great mystics resembled to the point of near-identity the contents of a paragraph or a poem written by the ingestors of certain drugs. The traditional ordeals to which the religious mystics of antiquity had subjected themselves (fasting, flagellation, fire)⁵⁶ had brought about a condition which the Beats could bring about by chemical agents. It was this same mystical experience that the Beats seek in poetry, Zen, and jazz. There are further similarities. The classical mystic seeks eternity, a timeless realm above and beyond the travail of a faltering and imperfect civilization.⁵⁷ Comparably, the Beats are convinced that Spengler's dire prophecies are about to come true. The Beat conviction that the original meaning of "Beat" derives from *beatus* (Latin, holy)⁵⁸ also links the Beats to the religious task of classical mystics to preach to their doomed brothers of salvation. The Beats emerge as a new set of articulators of the classical mystic's sense of cultural alienation. They do so with certain major departures in mystical repertoire and in sociological setting: fire and fasting are replaced by jazz and drugs; and the monk's solitary cell is replaced by a cultic group setting, distinct from both mystical isolation and the formal organizations of Western religions. The Beats, we hypothesized, are engaged in an attempt to banish the corrosive alienation of their generation by "turning on" quasi-mystical experiences.

The importance of drugs in the culture of the Beats provides clues to an understanding of the phenomenon of addiction generally, and especially to addiction in adolescents.

First, to clarify the phenomena we are dealing with: We are *not* concerned with habitual users of marijuana,⁵⁹ nor with habitués of L.S.D. or other "psychedelic" or "mind-expanding" drugs.⁶⁰ We are dealing with users of narcotic drugs, i.e., drugs that have the properties of inducing: (1) *tolerance* (an increasing dosage must be taken to produce an equiva-

ern Library, 1936), pp. 294-98; and *The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy* (New York: Dover Books, 1956).

⁵⁶ Cf. Theodore Reik, *Masochism in Modern Man* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Company, 1949). See his interesting account of the Monk Basilus' practices.

⁵⁷ St. Augustine's two cities were a terrestrial and a heavenly pair. For the pharmacological equivalent, see Aldous Huxley, *Heaven and Hell* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1963).

⁵⁸ Cf. Lawrence Lipton, *The Holy Barbarians* (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1959).

⁵⁹ Which is neither a narcotic, nor addicting, but may be habit-forming. See Howard Becker, "Becoming a Marijuana User," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LIX, November 1953, p. 3, and his *Outsiders* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964). See also D. Wakefield, "The Prodigal Powers of Pot," *Playboy*, August 1962.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Psychedelic Review*, 1:104 (1963-64). See also Sherwood, *et al.*, "The Psychedelic Experience, A New Concept in Psychotherapy," *Journal of Neuro-psychiatry*, Vol. IV, December 1962, pp. 69-80.

lent experience); (2) *withdrawal syndrome* (termination of dosage induces a sickness whose symptoms include severe pain and dysphoria);⁶¹ and (3) *euphoria* (an extreme, unrealistic experience of happiness, feelings of well-being, and absence of anxiety). These are the psychophysiological aspects of the addiction syndrome. Second, we note the incidence of this syndrome in the American population: all available evidence indicates that narcotics addiction is a phenomenon overwhelmingly of young adult and late adolescent *males*.⁶² Third, addiction occurs in certain patterns of *social interaction*, about which we at present have insufficient systematic knowledge. However, available observational or impressionistic accounts indicate that addicts form near-group⁶³ or gang-group clusters, since, not surprisingly, addicts seek out the company of other addicts. Through such organization they pool information, communicate patterned evasions of law enforcement, make and share patterns of contact with the hierarchy of illegitimate sources of drug supply, and after the drug experience indulge in collective reminiscence in which they accord to each other various statuses and rewards based on how "high" each was and provide collective catharsis of the negative status they have incurred by becoming addicted. Thus addict sociation makes possible a viable way in a society whose hostility toward the addicts is symbolized in its negative norms toward them and is concretized in the negative action of policing agencies. But the sociation occurs *before* and *after* the actual ingestion of drugs and the experience it brings, which is an *isolating* experience. The sociation pattern is thus a strange one where addicts organize for an experience which temporarily disintegrates the organization.

The fourth significant aspect of addiction is the extent to which it constitutes a subculture. The sharing of common or similar experiences, and of a common perspective on the world, need not depend on actual physical presence in visible group array. The existence of subculture sharing is indicated by the fact of a junkie argot that is largely identical on a nation-wide basis. An addict going from New York to San Francisco, for example, can with this vocabulary secure instant recognition from other addicts. Two addicts who are otherwise complete strangers feel themselves in instant primary communication, recognizing in each other common, even identical, feelings. Addicts are also generally aware of the

⁶¹ Cf. D. Asubel, *Drug Addiction: Physiological, Psychological and Sociological Aspects* (New York: Random House, 1958) for a more detailed account.

⁶² Cf. J. Clausen, "Drug Addiction" Ch. 4 in R. Merton and R. Nisbet, eds., *Contemporary Social Problems* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1966, second edition), pp. 193-235; and Isidor Chein, Donald S. Gerard, Robert S. Lee and Eva Rosenfeld, *The Road to H* (New York: Basic Books, 1964).

⁶³ Cf. Lewis Yablonsky, *The Violent Gang* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962).

great number of others who share their patterns, and they derive rebellious sustenance from this knowledge. Tell-tale signs of addict behavior, often subliminally communicated, will also readily draw two junkies to each other.

A brief account of the subculture language of junkies is the following: The addict who injects heroin into his veins refers to taking a "fix" or a "shot." He "shoots up." If his needle ("spike," "nail") enters a vein, he achieves a "hit." The preparation of heroin powder dissolved in water and then heated is called "cooking" or "cooking up" in his "works" (equipment), consisting usually of a bottle top held with a bobby pin, a hypodermic needle, an eye dropper, and two matches. If he "hits," he then "turns on" or "gets high," i.e., begins his euphoric experience. The heroin powder comes in a cellophane "bag," and is variously called "H," "horse," "shit," "schmeck," or "stuff." The fix produces a "high," a "flight," during which the addict is "high," "flying," "out of it," "gone," or "stoned." The "high" wears off (proportional to dosage, individual metabolism, and tolerance) but leaves a semi-euphoric state during which the addict "goofs" or "nods" (goes in and out of a sleep-like state) or "nods out" (goes to sleep entirely or becomes unconscious). After several hours (depending on dosage, tolerance, the "size" of his "habit") he may "get sick" (i.e., experience withdrawal symptoms) and begin to need another "shot," "fix," "bag," etc.

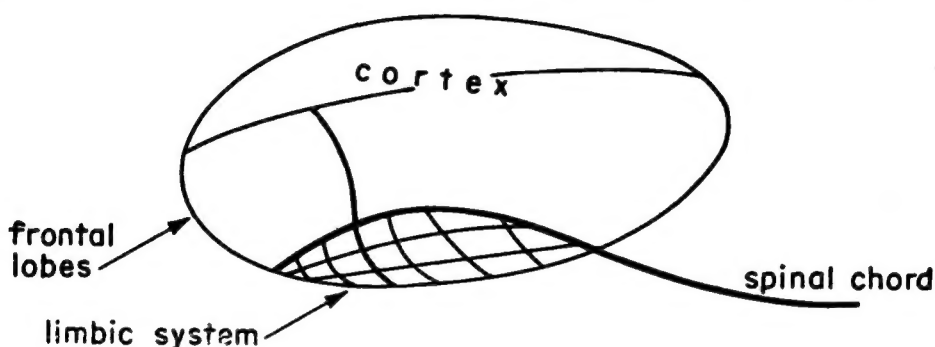
He must then seek his "connection," "dealer," "pusher," or "mother" for a fresh supply. He tries to "cop" or "connect" so that he can "score" (renew his supply). If he has insufficient funds, he may try to "beat" or "con" (i.e., persuade) someone to give him the required amount. He may attempt to accumulate the purchase price by cajoling his fellow addicts, whom he variously calls "man," "daddy," "lover," "sweet-heart," or a number of other nicknames. While "looking to score" he must beware of the police ("fuzz") or agents ("narcos") of the special narcotic agencies and departments empowered to apprehend him. "The Man" may appear from anywhere, at any time, to arrest ("bust") him. He has to avoid "getting busted" because while incarcerated he will be forced to "kick" (break the addiction cycle) "cold turkey" (without drugs). If he does "score," he must try to avoid a lethal overdose ("O.D."). (We offer some interpretation of these terms later in the text.)

Thus, narcotics addiction has a wide incidence among late-adolescent or young adult males in this society. It involves certain patterned psychophysiological experiences, notably temporary states of euphoria taking the participant totally "out of" the contexts and pressures of everyday life, certain distinctive forms of sociation, and a subculture signalized by a shared specialized lingo and common understandings. We can raise these questions: What needs does addiction satisfy for the individual

participants, particularly what needs that are common to the whole range of the addicted population? How are these needs derived from commonly experienced trends in the wider culture and social structure of the society?

Observations and analyses from a variety of perspectives—chemico-physiological, psychological, sociological, and anthropological—can be integrated to help us find answers to these questions.

There is evidence to indicate that narcotic drugs have a physiological effect similar to that of a pre-frontal lobotomy.⁶⁴ Referring to the accompanying schematic diagram: the frontal lobes of the brain are frequently



referred to as the “association” or “silent” areas, and sometimes as the seat of social learning. Here are said to be “localized” the memories of learned values, norms, and expectations, i.e., the social conscience.⁶⁵ Fibers from the cortex (the area of consciousness) pass through the association areas on their way to the limbic system (the area of primitive feeling and emotion, part of the old brain). Fibers from the limbic system also pass through the association areas on their way to the cortex. It is as if the silent areas were a filter for cortico-limbic and limbo-cortical fibers. Psychoanalytically, cortex can be seen as ego, the limbic system as id, and the association areas as superego. A pre-frontal lobotomy is held to release cortico-limbic and limbo-cortical fibers from associative modulation. That is, consciousness of primitive emotion is released from social definition by parenthesizing the inhibitory role of the silent areas. The effect on social behavior of lobotomy can be illustrated in the following case of an accidental lobotomy. A sober, responsible, quiet, and dutiful miner one day suffered the accidental passage of a crowbar up through the socket of his eye, on through the frontal lobes of the brain and out

⁶⁴ I. Wechsler, *A Textbook of Clinical Neurology*, 5th edition (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1943).

⁶⁵ Of course association areas are not exclusively localized in the frontal lobes, since there are also disinhibitory effects brought about by the analgesic drugs in the *cortical* area, as indicated by the occasional appearance of distorted perceptions, illusions and hallucinations under the influence of such drugs.

the top of his skull. Miraculously he survived, but on recuperation he abandoned his family, job, and former responsible roles to become the town drunk and "skirt-chaser." In effect, he had experienced an accidental pre-frontal lobotomy. Having severed his pre-frontal lobes from effective participation in cerebral events, he drastically altered his style of life.

Using narcotics evidently produces a similar, though temporary, effect. In effect, then, the addict is turning *off*, not "turning on." But since he is turning off an inhibitory process, the *net perceived result* is an increase in felt well-being, a release from feelings of guilt and anxiety which presumably result from repressive socialization of feeling and awareness. In psychoanalytic terms, the superego is being put to sleep, and the feelings of guilt, shame, and moral anxiety which are the results of its impact on the ego are pushed below the threshold of perception. Whether this is an act of repression, in which anxieties are allayed by an almost automatic defensive reaction, or an act of suppression, in which a conscious decision is made deliberately to exclude painful contents from consciousness, remains to be seen. But our question here is to account for the origin and content of the feelings of moral anxiety, guilt, and depression that are turned off by the narcotic experience⁶⁶ and ask what common experiences have been undergone by these adolescent males, leading to such feelings and the need to "turn them off," which can be related to general trends in the social structure of contemporary society.

Studies attempting a theory of delinquency are of some help here. By the fact that narcotics use brings them into conflict with the law, adolescent addicts are defined as "delinquents." Some of them, in fact, have "graduated" to drug use, in group formation, from other forms of delinquency, such as "bopping" gangs. Though theories of delinquency in general must be too broad to explain specifically the drug-using form, they do provide some clues.

Albert Cohen in *Delinquent Boys*⁶⁷ combines social structural and psychoanalytic insights in a theory of the genesis of the "delinquent subculture." The delinquent subculture is seen as a patterned response of adolescent males all facing similar or common psychological conflicts. Working-class and lower-class boys, to the extent that they have been socialized to middle-class values of status striving, are faced with the improbability of achieving adult male status according to those values. They also spend more time in peer-group relations than do middle-class boys, and hence they are more dependent on peer-group definitions of masculinity. These definitions tend to conflict with middle-class values,

⁶⁶ A parenthetical question is this: Is the addict trying to perform a chemical lobotomy on himself to relieve unbearable tensions, or is he primarily seeking an euphoric experience, and willingly paying the price of loss of social memory?

⁶⁷ Albert Cohen, *Delinquent Boys* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1955).

and behavior in terms of them also tends to make the achievement of middle-class values improbable. Still middle-class values, being pervasive in the society, have been at least partially internalized by working-class boys. Delinquency then represents a reaction formation, repudiating the manifest cause of the status problem while its content goes underground, unacknowledged, yet lingering. This accounts for the delinquent's "irrational, malicious, and unaccountable" hostility to the enemy, the norms of the respectable middle-class society. The essential point, for our present discussion, is the conflicting, hence impaired, socialization of the adolescent male. Two questions need to be raised to link Cohen's analysis to our attempt to understand adolescent addiction: (1) Why do some of the participants in the "delinquent subculture" Cohen alludes to, turn to drugs from or instead of other delinquent activity, such as stealing or fighting? ⁶⁸ (2) Do some of the socialization dilemmas that Cohen sees in the working-class boys also apply to many middle-class boys so that they are relevant for understanding the addicted adolescent males, whose class distribution is in fact much broader than that of the "delinquent subculture" Cohen describes?

The first question is given a partial answer in the work of Cloward and Ohlin in *Delinquency and Opportunity*.⁶⁹ They find delinquency partly traceable to the rather severe limitations which adolescents find on legitimate opportunities for mobility and success. Some of those who have found no available legitimate opportunities attempt to use illegitimate opportunity structures, e.g., stealing and rackets. Some, however, fail in that attempt as well, and these "double failures" are likely to turn to drugs. This theoretical proposition is a promising line of approach. However, in our own observations⁷⁰ some of the young men observed are addicts but not "double failures" ⁷¹ and some are "double failures" but not addicts.⁷²

The theories of Cohen and of Cloward-Ohlin have in common the observation that male adolescents are confronted by deficits in their social worlds, deficits, familial and/or communal, which leave the adolescent less adequately socialized than he might be.

The nature of such deficits that seems most directly relevant to adolescent drug addiction is suggested by the work of Chein and his cowork-

⁶⁸ Commonly "bopping" gangs that turn to drugs stop "bopping."

⁶⁹ Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1960).

⁷⁰ The observations were made during a two-year participant-observation study of "Junkville," a high-delinquency area of New York City with a large incidence of drug addiction in late-adolescent males. Some observations on particular cases are given at a later point in the text.

⁷¹ For example, one of the boys studied in Junkville, Billy A.

⁷² For example, another of the Junkville boys, Joey R., who is one of the two of the ten cited who are *not* addicted.

ers.⁷³ In their exhaustive study of thirty adolescent drug users, they find that those male adolescents who experienced a graver difficulty than their siblings in achieving a viable relationship with their male parent or male parent surrogates, appear more frequently in the addict population. Especially significant for our purposes is their finding that those adolescent addicts who experienced difficulty in father-identification and in "healthy" superego formation were also observed to have a strong distrust of major social institutions, so that, in addition to their faulty socialization, they were less attitudinally amenable to resocialization by interested agencies of the community.

Rado⁷⁴ describes certain features of the addict personality from a classical psychoanalytic orientation. He argues that the lack of masculinization frequently observed in the addict is only one side of the coin. The other side is a continuing dependency on the mother-figure and a residue of psychic fixation which is commonly termed oral-infantilism. Chein and Rosenfeld's findings reinforce this interpretation since their subjects also reported feelings of dependency toward their mothers.

Another study puts the problem of deficits in socialization into a cross-cultural perspective. Bloch and Niederhoffer⁷⁵ contrast the situation of male adolescents of our society with that of their counterparts in many primitive societies, specifically those that engage in initiation ceremonies. In the latter cases, successful negotiation of the puberty rites, involving various ordeals and special training, confers some of the status privileges of masculine adulthood, especially rights to property and to adult modes of sexual experience. The absence of significant initiations of adolescents into adult sex and property roles in our society, by contrast, has motivated some of these adolescents to attempt an initiation of themselves into maturity. But since they have neither the requisite community power, nor access to property and/or women, nor the social wisdom which age is alleged to confer, they do not actually accomplish their purpose. Their attempt to confer sociological maturity on themselves is aborted. The resultant sociation is the gang, a form of social group marked by cohesive and mutually dependent feeling and behavior. While Bloch and Niederhoffer's analysis refers to delinquency in general, the significance of their concern with the lack of initiation rituals in modern society can be applied specifically to the problem of male adolescent drug addicts.

Bloch and Niederhoffer's frequent reference to Bruno Bettelheim's

⁷³ Cf. Chein *et al.*, *op. cit.*

⁷⁴ Sandor Rado, "The Psychoanalysis of Pharmacothymia," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1933, 1-23.

⁷⁵ Herbert Bloch and Arthur Niederhoffer, *The Gang* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958).

*Symbolic Wounds*⁷⁶ provides connecting links. Bettelheim's main insight into the nature of male puberty rites is to show how these rites reveal male envy of the apparently greater fertility of females. Puberty rites are thus not only efforts to achieve both maturation and masculinization, but also, in apparent opposition, to ritualize a desire to obliterate the differences between male and female and to return to a common ground of simple undifferentiated being, prior to the first, the sexual, division of labor. In the light of this formulation, addict sociation in our society can be seen as an aborted puberty ritual which also expresses a wish for the intra-uterine simplicity of the prenatal stage of human life, a stage of abject dependency in the mother. Details of the content of the addict subculture, as will be seen, are entirely consonant with this view.

In the absence of such publicly institutionalized puberty rituals to provide for maturation and masculinization, adolescents may remain bound in the swaddling stages of their childhood or feel impelled to institute their own "functional equivalents" in forms expressing their own particular conflicts and ambivalences. In the absence of means of achieving maturation and masculinization in line with institutionalized values of the society, the forms by which adolescent males will devise their own equivalent rites, will necessarily be deviant from the prevailing culture. Adolescent male addiction can be seen as one such form. It remains to interpret the details of the addiction complex—its psychology, its forms of sociation, and its culture—in terms of the converging lines of analysis we have been describing.

SOME OBSERVATIONAL DATA

It is of interest to report here some observations made over a two-year period at a social service center in New York City in an area we call "Junkville." Some of the youngsters in Junkville are addicted to heroin. Some of these "junkies" show up somewhat regularly at the center run for them by an agglomeration of social and religious agencies. Most but not all of the people who come to the center are male adolescent addicts. No pretense is made of systematic sampling of any kind; however, a selection of ten boys aged eighteen to twenty-three who come to the center may be instructive in relation to the ideas developed in this paper. All live in an area and in milieus where addicting drugs are readily available and the rate of drug use is high. The "clientele" of the social center does consist largely of addicts, but not all of these boys are addicted. Five of them are, and three others are intermittently, but two are not at all, though one of those has been a "dealer" in drugs. These boys are from roughly similar backgrounds, lower class or near lower class, Roman

⁷⁶ See discussion of this work in the earlier part of this chapter of this volume, pp. 312-16. See also Bettelheim's *Truants from Life* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1955).

Catholic, and most of them Italian. Superficially, it would seem to be difficult to predict which of them are addicted, which are not. The five who are addicted have in common the fact that none of them has achieved a successful identification with his father or father-surrogate. One is illegitimate and never knew his father; in all four other cases the father deserted or was "thrown out" before or during the boy's adolescent years. In these cases the mother is the central parental figure. The three who are only intermittently addicted are instructive. Each of these boys may go for as long as three months at a time without taking drugs, but each invariably returns to the "habit." Each seems to hover between part-successful and part-unsuccessful identification with the father. The two boys of these ten who have made successful identifications with the father have both escaped the addiction syndrome. In one case the father is a family man who devotes time to his son and motivates him to be mobile. In the other both the father, a gangster, and an older brother have exerted strong moralistic guidance and discipline, and though he has rejected them, the boy feels strongly masculine. Thus the extent and success of father-identification seems to be the critical differentiating factor among these similarly situated young men.

IMPLICATIONS OF JUNKIE LANGUAGE

A careful consideration of junkie argot sheds light on the peculiar psychological world of the addict and helps elucidate the problems we have been discussing. *Ambivalence* is probably the single most striking feature of the addict's approach to the world. Unsuccessful strivings for masculinization and perpetuated infantile dependency on the mother are one part of this ambivalence. Note the set of opposing terms the addict uses for the act of injection. He calls this action both a "shot" as in "shot down" or feeling "shot" (as if someone or something had shot him) and "fix" as if he is in need of repair. This masochistic allusion is carried through in the name of the mechanism of repair, the needle, which he calls a "nail" or a "spike"; and it is neatly counterbalanced by referring to the head of the eyedropper as a "nipple," the source of his reparative nourishment. Although he is thus taking in food, finding a vein is called a "hit," a strange denotation suggesting a shooting gallery, which in fact is what the police usually call a "pad" where many junkies "shoot up." The masochistic implications reflect the addict's coupling of his broken and estranged feelings with a need for punishment for his felt inadequacy.

Paradox is further evident in other parts of addict lingo. Heroin, the addict's emotional food, is called either "shit" (suggesting coprophilia) or "schmeck," which is near Yiddish for taste, hence a specifically oral term. A favorable proportion of heroin to the material used to cut it, is referred to as "tasty," confirming the oral implication. The combination

of these terms is consonant with the affective patterns of the obsessive-compulsive. Another term for heroin, "horse," suggests that heroin magically enables the adolescent to mount his own Pegasus, on which he makes his high "flight." Flying so high, he is "out of it" and "gone"—but then he is also referred to as "stoned," another indication of the intense ambivalence the addict feels. In addition, during his euphoric "flight" the junkie also "goofs" and "nods"—a peculiar phasing in and out of his special euphoric sleep, indicating the bipolar nature of the addict's syndrome.

In a similar vein, we may observe that the "pusher" (power is clearly implied here) is, nevertheless, also called "mother"—the giver of nutritional and emotional food. The addict's occasional rage, consequent upon frustration by such a maternal figure, motivates him on occasion to "beat" someone for the purchase price of his specific emotional milk. In doing so, he calls his fellow addict "baby," "daddy," "man," "lover," or "sweetheart." "Baby" reinforces the interpretation of the addict's infantile feelings, here perceived in the peers. "Man" and "daddy" as alternates for "baby" reflect again the bipolar identity. What then shall we make of "lover" and "sweetheart"? The hypothesis of latent homosexuality, which is in any case easily confirmed, is part of the picture. But it is the *confluence* of infantile daddy-seeking and latent homosexual themes on which we wish to focus attention. By viewing these themes together, we gain some insight into the special heterosexual (mother)-homosexual (father) flavor of the addict's bipolar nature. The addict is rather automatically hostile to authority, and yet he devotes enormous quantities of his energy to behaving in terms of authority. This helps us to understand how the blind hatred of narcotics agents can convert itself with dramatic suddenness into a warm and total acceptance of an "understanding" and permissive narcotics officer. It is provocative to speculate whether this bipolarity permits us to interpret getting "busted" (arrested) as both getting broken and "getting breasted."

(Parenthetically, the addict's ambivalence is met by the ambivalence of the social-control institutions, in the dual character of penal-therapeutic concern for the addict population. It must come as no surprise and indeed probably confirms the addict's vision of the world to learn that recent legislation constructs a route through officialdom in which he may "choose" between being sentenced to jail and being sentenced to a therapeutic program. One may predict that this kind of enforced therapeutic program will serve rather to intensify the ambivalence the addict already has.)

It might well be argued that a social structure which simultaneously demands and prevents the adoption of highly cathected adult statuses is inflicting an unbearably burdensome set of conflicting demands on the adolescent, and that this dislocation in the social structure of his self,

deriving from dark powers over which he feels he can exert no ameliorative influence, can be avoided in no quicker or better way than by chemical ingestion, the normative guidance for which is set in the aspirin and cigarette fetishes so prevalent in our national culture.⁷⁷

ADDICTION AND ACHRONY

Another observation about addiction is important to round out this analysis. Clausen says, "Perhaps the most striking effect [of drug addiction] . . . is that one's perception of time is markedly affected."⁷⁸ In our own study, among the hundreds of addicts we have interviewed, we have encountered not one who did not spontaneously offer a similar observation.⁷⁹ In one way or another, adolescent addicts have told us that their enjoyment of narcotics was directly proportional to the extent to which drugs transported them from the realm of inexorable time to some ecstatic eternity. Once one conceives that the addict's apperception of the flow of time lies at the bottom of his feelings of depression, it is not difficult to infer that heaven, eternity, nirvana, ecstasis, and so on, all represent illusory releases from the psychic prisons erected by oppressive social processes.⁸⁰ Recalling the Zen frame of reference into which the Beats had cast their narcotic experiences helps us to perceive that the high which heroin seems to deliver also makes the shores of the "oceanic feeling" seem less remote. The waves of euphoria which wash over the addict also become far less allegorical in this light. It is not without

⁷⁷ In this connection, it is pertinent to question the validity of regarding drug addicts as "retreatists" according to the now classical paradigm for analysis of deviant social roles provided by Robert Merton in his paper, "Social Structure and Anomie," in *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1957). Cloward and Ohlin (*op. cit.*) apply the Merton scheme and find drug addicts "retreatists" in that they presumably reject both the culturally prescribed goals (success) and the institutionally indicated means (hard, respectable work). However, if we took, instead of occupational success, the equally institutionalized goal called "the pursuit of happiness" and considered as an acceptable, indeed widely utilized means, that of instantaneous chemical ingestion, as indicated in aspirins and cigarettes, then drug addicts score a plus on both goals and means, and hence can be regarded as supreme "conformists" for this culture. Perhaps it is precisely because they are conformists to these hedonistic values, without tempering them by the countering ascetic norms, that addicts are so disturbing to the nonaddict population.

⁷⁸ J. Clausen, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁷⁹ Firsthand accounts supporting the proposition that drug experience alters the apperception of time, are found in the excellent anthology compiled by D. Ebin, *The Drug Experience* (New York: Orion Press, 1961), especially the section entitled "Opiates, Addicts, and Cures." See also Norman Taylor, *Narcotics* (New York: Delta Publications, 1963).

⁸⁰ For classic accounts of the use of religion to allay anxiety, see Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*, in the Standard Edition, Vol. XXI, *op. cit.*, and B. Nelson, "The Future of Illusions," in *Psychoanalysis*, Vol. II, Spring-Summer 1954, p. 54, of which a condensed version appears in this volume.

significance that the classical psychoanalytic perspective predicts a high coincidence of father-alienation and mystical longing.

We deduce that these adolescent addicts find the flow of time pathogenic, that their flight "out of time" indicates that they otherwise feel themselves in a state to which we give the term *achrony*.⁸¹ Briefly, a state of achrony means feeling "out of step" with the culturally accepted definitions of the "normal" flow of time. To discuss this, we need to clarify the notion of time itself. Many approaches are open to us, but we shall restrict our attention to two.

First, we may inquire whether there resides within us a sense of the *rate of attainment of ideals*, so that it is not nonsense to speak of "going somewhere," "getting ahead," and other folklore expressions of the mobility ethos of our culture. Such expressions imply a back-drop of temporality in actions and strivings.

Second, time may be defined as the emotional interval between impulse and gratification. That is, time is *felt* as the *waiting* which ensues consequent to the onset of a stimulus and prior to the initiation of a reward. Waiting too long often leads to feelings of frustration. The application to delinquency is obvious: when waiting for a chance to lead a satisfying life seems useless, why wait? *Carpe diem*: seize the day, lest tomorrow we fail.

The superego (alternatively, the normative organization of a social system) is essentially a timing device which defines how long instinctive gratifications are to be postponed while sublimations are being erected (alternatively, how long prepubescent roles must be maintained while adult roles are being sought). Those adolescents who are made to wait too long for the onset of sociological maturity will, at some time, begin to feel frustration and will, in the absence of viable opportunity structures, indulge in behavior which calls forth the observation, "There is a child acting out his conception of a man."

The conception of the superego as a temporal filter helps us to ac-

⁸¹ Space precludes adequate development of this concept here. It is developed in other writings of this author. See V. Gioscia, "On Social Time" (mimeographed report on file at Jewish Family Service, New York). For related discussion on the concepts of time see the following: V. Gioscia, "Plato's Image of Time: An Essay in Philosophical Sociology" (Fordham University, 1962, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation); G. J. Whitrow, *The Natural Philosophy of Time* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961); Robert MacIver, *The Challenge of the Passing Years: My Encounter with Time* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1962); Georges Gurwitsch, *The Spectrum of Social Time* (Stuttgart: Reidel Co., 1963); Lewis A. Coser and Rose L. Coser, "Time Perspective and Social Structure," in A. Gouldner and H. Gouldner, *Modern Society* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963), pp. 638-46; H. Meyerhoff, *Time in Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955); Edmund Husserl *The Phenomenology of Internal Time-Consciousness*, trans. J. Churchill (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964).

count for the selection of narcotics as the form of deviation many adolescents "choose." Drugs "turn off" the association areas of the brain, the "seat" of the superego. It is the extent to which this "watch" of the personality measures evaluatively the performance of behavior, which heroin quickly, almost instantaneously, puts to sleep. In the absence, or the oppressive presence, of this social clock, the ego may attempt to retire, to allow the twin horses of the id to gallop at will once the floodgates of fantasy have been released. In addition, the conception of superego as clock brings us closer to the peculiarly modern character of adolescent drug addiction. Has not this age invented the phrase "Time is money?"

We suggest that modern urban culture, that culture whose pathologies have been variously diagnosed by the assorted brilliance of Marx's concept of alienation, Durkheim's concept of anomie, and Freud's concept of anxiety, has erected so complex a normative organization that the pace of social gratification is slowing down. That is, the number of normatively defined behaviors is increasing so rapidly that the number of spontaneously defined behaviors is decreasing with proportional and alarming rapidity. It is not only that urban life is complex, it is increasing in its *rate* of complexification. In such circumstances it is probable that the socialization of the new norms will lag behind the emergence of new norms and that some will be handed an obsolete set of standards for their behavior. There will ensue a kind of social anachronism in which old norms will be unduly stretched to fit new situations. More specifically, we hypothesize that those adolescents in our culture who have not been given a set of norms which will synchronize them with the pace of contemporary urban culture will be subjected to the condition of achrony.

Achrony, then, refers to any situation in which there is a felt discrepancy between the rate of behavior and the rate of fulfillment of expectations, and thus it represents a generalization of the concept of frustration. Since all men are born, pass through stages, and die, we may say that relating to the process of time is a cross-cultural necessity and that every culture organizes this passage in some way.

Narcotic drugs specifically alleviate *feelings* of achrony by producing the illusion of timelessness, spinning a cocoon of euphoric dissociation from the hurtling inexorability of social process. Those for whom the process of socialization has not devised synchronous roles and expectations will find that such drugs provide surcease. Instead of hurrying up, and "rushing against time" in the mode of the middle-class conformist, and instead of posing (temporizing) as mature and masculine adults (as in the violent gang), some adolescents attempt to evade the process of maturation itself by *rising above it* into an illusory realm of eternity, a temporal defense we call *epichrony*.

Epichronic stances are characterized by a feeling that a zero speed of time is immensely comfortable. The ideal typical epichronic stance is perfectly timeless: within it one can believe that the social organization of experience is not subject to the ravages of temporal change. Marijuana use produces a feeling that time has "slowed down" so that a few moments "seem like an eternity." This property also characterizes the so-called hallucinogenic drugs, i.e., mescaline, L.S.D., peyote, and psilocybin. It is important to note that this alteration of the time sense is common to the addicting as well as the nonaddicting drugs. Thus the pattern common to drug addicts of switching from addictogenic to hallucinogenic substances is not necessarily a step out of character. When we focus on this common property, we begin to account for the variety of drugs the expert drug user enjoys. This variety of epichronic experiences supports our hypothesis that *drugs are taken specifically to alleviate feelings of achrony*, since any of these drugs will bring about a feeling that eternal laws have been fashioned which are binding for all time, or the feeling that the normative regulation of pace is completely absent, as in the transtemporal Buddhahood of the Beats. Each of these drugs may be said to comprise the structural material of an epichronic hiding place from inexorability.

With these insights, we may return to certain features of addict sociation and addict subculture. The epichronic flight of the narcotic "high" state brings relief, we have suggested, from oppressive feelings of achrony, or, otherwise stated, from oppressive aspects of social process. Indeed, the addict's, like the mystic's, view of eternity or nirvana carries the implication that *all* regular social processes are oppressive. Hence, the peculiar, aborted kind of "social organization" of the junkies: a momentary experience of organization followed by its fragmentation into individual euphorias, followed by further momentary organization in the reminiscent glow. It is as if the drug groups reached briefly for a moment of genuine social process, only to return to the sea of their despair on the ebb tide of social disorganization. But "genuine social process" is precisely what the individuals who need to turn to narcotics cannot achieve, for the reasons we have analyzed.

The kind of sharing of addict subculture can now also be better understood. In contrast to the enormous complexity of the urban culture, and its increasing rate of development of new norms, the subculture of addiction has a congenial simplicity: the norms are few and rudimentary and make only minimal demands. Further, since the taking of drugs inhibits both sexual and aggressive drives, two basic sources of disruptive and conflictful social processes, the addict's relationship to his world has undergone an enormous simplification.

Having perceived, accurately, that the courses of their lives might not

be steered toward the achievement of social promise, addicts fly up into the arms of a serene eternity in which they are not only the sole inhabitants, but also the sole government. As on all islands of paradise, ethnocentrism is achieved, but at the usual terrible cost of restricted participation in the affairs of the world at large. To be above time is to be "out of it." This posture brings with it the illusion of escape, but, so posturing, the addict renders himself sociologically impotent, i.e., he can do nothing to alter the events which have plagued him by reason of his self-styled removal from them. It would seem that addict subculture seeks removal from the sphere of sex-aggressive behavior by perpetuating a condition of physiological as well as sociological dependency.

We have seen that delinquent addicts share their unaddicted brothers' pessimism with respect to legitimate mobility, and that addicts, like delinquents, do not feel themselves to have been initiated into the ways and paths of adult masculinity. And we have seen that the narcotic experience turns off that depression which results from the simultaneous adoption of a high set of expectations coupled with a perception of their unattainability. But we feel closer to the data when we say that the chemically induced epichronicity which the addict brings about almost instantly is, in fact, exactly what the addict seeks.

Thus, when Freud states that there is "no time in the id," we might add that perhaps, for some, there is too much time in the superego. That is, when the process of becoming human is perceived to take too long or to proceed too slowly, men, as ever, devise forms of illusory attainment of harmony with their era. It does not seem to us that addicts are especially deviant in this effort. Our age seems otherwise willing to speed headlong toward the fulfillment of its cherished ambitions, anachronizing massive portions of its self in the process. Yet it condemns the dramatic efficiency with which the addict relieves his achronistic feelings, heaping criminal statuses upon his head because he seeks an analgesic revelation. Do we demean Icarus for his wings of wax or for his attempted flight?

5. CONCLUSION

Gioscia's paper brings us full circle from the exotics and mysteries of primitive culture, radically epitomized in the initiation ceremonies, to the corresponding cultural phenomena of modern society as seen in the "pathology" of drug addiction, viewed as an attempted and aborted initiation ceremony of the pathogenically socialized and socially dispossessed. Gioscia's paper echoes elements of all the others presented or discussed in this chapter. The reference point of *time* is

essential to Benedict's, to Hart's, or to any other anthropologist's discussion of "continuities" or "discontinuities" in culture or conditioning or socialization. The term "life cycle" is of course meaningless without a temporal dimension. By using "cycle" instead of something like "line," this term also implies a rejection of a linear conception of time provided by the mechanistic view of the universe, reverting instead to biological and psychological reference points—to either the "timeless id" or to repetitious rhythms with movements from and back to points of origin, evoking the favorite wheel imagery of oriental world views. In all of these papers we find a recurrent tension between continuity and discontinuity, a peculiarly acute problem of the adolescent phase of development with its re-evocation, hence continuity, of infantile sexuality and dependency and its drive to new adult status and feeling and relationship, hence discontinuity. The papers and our own discussion have concentrated particularly on the transition problems of males since these seem almost invariably to be more acute than those for females, regardless of great variations of culture and social structure. Evidently, as Margaret Mead argues, there is a basic biological substratum for this sex difference, epitomized in the fact that the little girl has only to wait for something inside herself to unfold and develop to become a woman, while the boy has to *do* something, be assertive and active, achieve some mastery, to prove his adult masculinity. The wide-ranging cross-cultural examples from many primitive societies indicate that the difficulties are by no means exclusive to hectic, "disorganized" or "alienated" modern populations. The latter, however, significantly lack any standardized initiation rituals applying to all the young males in the society. This lack, in turn, can be seen as filled by such approximate "functional equivalents" as the way in which the young man is initiated into the military corps or the ways in which various kinds of delinquents initiate themselves, in effect, including the special initiation into the world of drug use. Such initiation into drugs may, as Gioscia suggests, represent rejection of the conventional world—into which certain segments of youth can find no satisfying initiation or prospect of future satisfying life—and the substitution of something out and beyond, above and out of it. To which we can add: with all the attendant, sometimes horrifying, costs.⁸²

⁸² Some related themes are explored in "Play Elements in Delinquency" presented in Chapter Five.

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